

# EXPLORING AN UNKNOWN GOLD MINE: U.S. GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS ON NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

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he September 11, 2001 Al Qaida terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and Pentagon brutally taught Americans that our status as the world's sole super-power does not immunize us against military attack. These attacks resulted in a partial loss in public access to government information as some federal agencies withdrew from their web sites material they regarded as sensitive for national security reasons<sup>[1]</sup>.

Despite what will probably be the temporary removal of some sensitive national security information from government agency websites, a phenomenal amount of information about governmental national security policy issues, actions, directives, and research remains freely available to Americans on the Internet or in tangible print or microform format in the United States over 1,300 federal depository libraries<sup>[2]</sup> including those depository collections found in Indiana public or academic libraries. This information is produced by all three branches (executive, legislative, and judicial) of the U.S. Government and by numerous independent agencies. This article will focus primarily on information produced by executive branch agencies such as the Executive Office of the President, the Department of Defense, the Department of Energy, the nation's intelligence agencies, with particular emphasis on the Central Intelligence Agency, Presidential or Congressionally appointed commissions, and the United States Congress and Congressional support agencies.

Print or microform copies of many of these publications can be found in some Indiana federal depository libraries since these libraries have received them from the U.S. Government Printing Office (G.P.O.), which is the agency managing the Federal Depository Library Program (F.D.L.P.). Given the growing influence of the Internet as the pre-eminent means of disseminating federal government information since the middle 1990s and in the interest in promoting expanded librarian and public knowledge of and access to these resources, this article will stress website addresses (e.g. Uniform Resource Locators (URL's) for finding these valuable resources produced with our tax dollars.

## WHITE HOUSE-EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

The U.S. Constitution designates the President as the Commander-in-Chief of the nation's armed forces<sup>[3]</sup>. During the twentieth century, Presidential power over the military and other issues has been discharged through the Executive Office of the President (E.O.P.) which represents White House policymaking offices as diverse as the National Security Council (N.S.C.), Office of Homeland Security, Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and the President's Council of Economic Advisors<sup>[4]</sup>.

The George W. Bush White House website, [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov), contains a variety of useful national security policy resources. These include the text, video and audio clips of Presidential speeches, Presidential executive orders such as the November 13, 2001 military order permitting military trials of terrorists captured by U.S. military forces<sup>[5]</sup>. Historical national security information from the Clinton Administration may be found through the National Archives and Record Administration's capture of all Clinton White House websites, <http://search2.nara.gov>, and the N.S.C. section of this site is a particularly fruitful information resource with documents such as *International Crime Threat Assessment* (2000).

The Bush Administration's N.S.C. website, [www.whitehouse.gov/nsc](http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc), describes this organization's purpose and features a biographical portrait of National Security Advisor Dr. Condoleezza Rice. Publicly accessible N.S.C. reports as of 2003 include *The National Security Strategy for the United States* (2002) and *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction* (2002)<sup>[6]</sup>.

Besides the N.S.C., another E.O.P. agency producing national security related information is the Office of Homeland Security created soon after the September 11 attacks. Its website, [www.whitehouse.gov/homeland](http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland), contains a variety of information sources including homeland security budget proposal documentation, speeches and Congressional testimony by Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge, the text of the bill propos-

ing the creation of a Department of Homeland Security<sup>[7]</sup>, and links to various state government homeland security agency websites including the Indiana Counter-Terrorism and Security Council, [www.in.gov/c-tasc](http://www.in.gov/c-tasc).

Another E.O.P. agency producing useful national security information is the Office of Management and Budget (O.M.B.). This agency, currently headed by Indiana native Mitch Daniels, is responsible for preparing the federal government's proposed budget to Congress, making sure agencies comply with spending objectives, and promoting the President's budgetary goals<sup>[8]</sup>.

OMB is responsible for preparing many publications with the most important being the annual *Budget of the United States Government*. This multivolume work contains historical expenditures and current information, as well as future spending projections, for federal departments and agencies down to the level of individual offices and specific federal programs. For instance, it would be possible to track how much any branch of the armed services spent on an individual weapon system such as an artillery rocket, submarine, or jet fighter using the *Budget of the United States Government*. This federal budget information is accessible at OMB's website, [www.whitehouse.gov/omb](http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb).

## DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The Department of Defense (D.O.D.) is the principal producer of U.S. Government national security information. Its website, [www.defenselink.mil](http://www.defenselink.mil), provides access to information produced by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, individual D.O.D. units such as the Defense Science Board, and individual branches of the armed services such as the Air Force, Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

Overall, D.O.D. information that can be found at [defenselink.mil](http://defenselink.mil) includes interviews and speeches by Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld and other leading officials and news of D.O.D. and armed services events. The Office of Secretary of Defense website, [www.defenselink.mil/osd](http://www.defenselink.mil/osd), provides links to the offices of various Assistant Secretaries of Defense and D.O.D. organizational components such as the Office of Inspector General, which produces reports evaluating individual D.O.D. programs such as *Acquisition: V-22 Osprey Hydraulic System* (2002).

Other useful D.O.D. organizational office websites include the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (D.S.C.A.) [www.dsca.osd.mil](http://www.dsca.osd.mil) which administers U.S. military security assistance programs and produces publications like *Security Assistance Management Manual* (2002) and provides news of projected U.S. weapons sales programs. The Defense Threat Reduc-

tion Agency (D.T.R.A.), [www.dtra.mil](http://www.dtra.mil), is responsible for combating weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Its website produces various program fact sheets such as *Unified Fill Facility/Nuclear Weapons Storage Area, Ukraine* (2002) and other publicly accessible resources documenting its work. The Defense Science Board, [www.acq.osd.mil/dsb](http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb), advises D.O.D. on scientific issues affecting military operations and a visit to its web site produces numerous reports on defense science policy such as *High Energy Laser Weapons Systems Applications* (2001) and *Protecting the Homeland: Defensive Information Operations Volume 2* (2001).

Numerous D.O.D. reports are legally mandated by Congress as part of annual budgetary authorizations and many of these reports are publicly accessible through [defenselink.mil](http://defenselink.mil). Examples of such reports include *Chemical and Biological Defense Program: Annual Report to Congress* (1997-2002) and *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (2001) as well as a host of other reports on various aspects of national security policy.

The individual armed service branches produce a wide variety of publicly accessible information on their websites. These sites provide news about ongoing service activities, information on joining these services, historical information, resources from their civilian departmental offices and educational institutions, and information on individual weapons systems. The Air Force website is [www.af.mil](http://www.af.mil), the Army website is [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil), the Marine Corps website is [www.usmc.mil](http://www.usmc.mil), and the Navy website is [www.navy.mil](http://www.navy.mil).

The advanced educational institutions of the armed services are particularly rich resources for national security policy information containing operational assessments and theoretical analysis. Located in Colorado Springs, Colorado, the U.S. Air Force Academy is responsible for training Air Force officers. The Air Force's Institute for National Security Studies (I.N.S.S.), located at the Air Force Academy, produces a variety of reports on national security policy issues on its website, [www.usafa.af.mil/inss](http://www.usafa.af.mil/inss). Examples of recent I.N.S.S. reports include *The Terrorism Threat and U.S. Government Response: Operational and Organizational Factors* (2001), *Constraints, Restraints, and the Role of Aerospace Power in the 21st Century* (2001), *Lords of the Silk Route: Violent Non-State Actors in Central Asia* (2002), and *Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Debunking the Mythology* (2002).

Another useful Air Force academic national security policy information resource is the Air University (A.U.) which is a part of the Air War College located at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Serving as the Air Force's principal graduate educational institute, A.U.'s website, [www.au.af.mil](http://www.au.af.mil), is a cornucopia of national security

information produced by faculty and students at A.U.'s various institutions. These individuals produce the scholarly journal *Aerospace Power Journal*, numerous books, and various research papers describing and analyzing national security operational subjects and international political issues from the perspectives of Air Force officers. Some of these works include *Uninhabited Combat Aerial Vehicles: Airpower by the People, For the People, But Not With The People* (2000), *Fatigue Management for Aerospace Expeditionary Forces: Deployment and Sustained Operations* (2001), *Air Mobility: The Key to the United States National Security Strategy* (2001), *Preventing Catastrophe: U.S. Policy Options for Management of Nuclear Weapons on South Asia* (2001), *Assessment of the Emerging Biocrisis Threat* (2002), and *Iran's Strategic Culture and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Implications of U.S. Policy* (2002).

The U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania is the Army's principal graduate educational institution. Its website can be accessed at <http://www.carlisle.army.mil>, for additional information about the War College and its multiple branches and programs including access to the scholarly journal *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*. The War College's Strategic Studies Institute (S.S.I.) produces a variety of high-quality analyses of military and international strategic affairs through its website, <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi>. Samples of scholarly reports produced for SSI include *Jibadi Groups, Nuclear Pakistan, and the New Great Game* (2001), *The Hart-Rudman Commission and the Homeland Defense* (2001), *Colombian Army Adaptation to FARC Insurgency* (2002), *Facing the Hydra: Maintaining Strategic Balance While Pursuing A Global War Against Terrorism* (2002), and *The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications* (2002).

An additional Army resource for intellectually high quality appraisals and thought provoking analysis of military strategic and operational issues is the Center for Army Lessons Learned (C.A.L.L.) at Fort Leavenworth, KS. C.A.L.L. analyzes data from current and historical Army operations and training exercises and produces research to apply lessons from these events to ongoing Army needs.

Information resources accessible through C.A.L.L.'s website, <http://call.army.mil>, include the journal *Military Review* and reports on various Army doctrinal and operational issues such as *A Curious Void: Army Doctrine and Toxic Industrial Materials in the Urban Battlespace* (2001), *The Fires and Effects Coordinating Cell: The Evolution of a Command System in Response to a Changing Environment* (2001), and *Two Way Street or Two Way Mirror: Will Canada's Future Army be Able to Interoperate With the United States' Army After Next at the Operational and Tactical Level of War?* (2001).

C.A.L.L.'s Foreign Military Studies Office (F.M.S.O.) produces reports on issues pertinent to various foreign military forces and its website, <http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil>, is also worth consulting for substantive analysis of national security issues. Recent reports produced by F.M.S.O. and its personnel include *Russian Military Reform: Status and Prospects (Views of a Western Military Historian)* (1998), *Infosphere Threats* (1999), *A "Crushing" Victory: Fuel-Air Explosives and Grozny* (2000), and *Colombia's Threats to Regional Security* (2001).

Newport, Rhode Island's Naval War College is the navy's principal graduate institution and a variety of useful resources are accessible through its website, [www.nwc.navy.mil](http://www.nwc.navy.mil). Material accessible here includes course descriptions and some course syllabi, news about college events, the scholarly journal *Naval War College Review*, and monographic works such as *International Environmental Law and Naval War: The Effect of Marine Safety and Pollution Conventions During International Armed Conflict* (2000) and *Asia and the Pacific: U.S. Strategic Traditions and Regional Realities* (2001).

National Defense University (N.D.U.) trains military and civilian leaders in a variety of national security subjects. N.D.U. and its affiliated units including the National War College, Center for Counter-proliferation Research, Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, Institute for National Strategic Studies, and Near East-South Asia Center for Strategic Studies produced a stunning proliferation of materials accessible through N.D.U.'s gateway website, [www.ndu.edu](http://www.ndu.edu).

N.D.U.'s library has digitized a number of historical national security policy resources including legislative histories on the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 and N.D.U. National War College student papers from 1995-1999 with *The Future of Arms Control* (1999) being one example. E-journals that can be found on N.D.U.'s website include *Joint Force Quarterly* and *Security and Defense Studies Review*. Papers, books, and various reports that can be read from N.D.U. website components include *Defensive Information Warfare* (1996), *Crisis in the Taiwan Strait* (1997), *Chinese Air Force Towards 2015* (2000), *QDR 2001: Strategy-Driven Choices for America's Security* (2001), *Roadmap to NATO Accession: Preparing for Membership* (2001), *The Strategic Implications of a Nuclear-Armed Iran* (2001), *Strategic Challenges for the Bush Administration* (2001), *Bioterrorism and Biocrimes: The Illicit Use of Biological Agents in the 20th Century* (2001), and *Water and Security Policy: The Case of Turkey* (2002).



## DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

The U.S. Department of Energy (D.O.E.) has numerous national security policy responsibilities including nuclear energy research and production and maintenance of the U.S.'s nuclear weapons arsenal, analyzing national security policy implications of energy commodities such as petroleum, coal, and nuclear energy, and reporting on and assessing the energy resources and policies of the U.S. and other countries. Many resources are accessible through D.O.E.'s website, [www.energy.gov](http://www.energy.gov), and by D.O.E.'s component organizational units.

D.O.E.'s website includes general energy policy documents such as the Bush Administration's National Energy Policy Development Group report *Reliable, Affordable, and Environmentally Sound Energy for America's Future* (2001) which seeks to sculpt national energy policy.

The National Nuclear Security Administration, [www.nnsa.doe.gov](http://www.nnsa.doe.gov), is responsible for maintaining the security of U.S. nuclear weapons, promoting international nuclear safety and nuclear weapons nonproliferation. Its website features the testimony of N.N.S.A. officials before Congressional oversight committees and specific reports such as *Report to Congress on the Organization and Operations of the National Nuclear Security Administration* (2002).

Information on various U.S. efforts to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction including nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons can be found at D.O.E.'s Center for International Threat Reduction, <http://citr.y12.doe.gov>. Detailed information about various aspects of U.S. national security policy can also be found on the websites of the various laboratories D.O.E. administers to conduct research on nuclear weapons and other scientific and technological subjects with national security implications. Examples of these laboratories and their websites include the Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago, [www.anl.gov](http://www.anl.gov), the Los Alamos National Laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico, [www.lanl.gov/worldview](http://www.lanl.gov/worldview), and the Sandia National Laboratory in Albuquerque, New Mexico, [www.sandia.gov](http://www.sandia.gov). Additional information on D.O.E. nuclear research activities may be found through its Nuclear Explosion Monitoring Research and Engineering Program (N.E.M.R.&E.) website, [www.nemre.nn.doc.gov/nemre](http://www.nemre.nn.doc.gov/nemre).

D.O.E. headquarters offices in Washington producing national security policy information include the Energy Information Administration (E.I.A.), [www.eia.doe.gov](http://www.eia.doe.gov), and the Office of Inspector General, [www.ig.doe.gov](http://www.ig.doe.gov). E.I.A. is D.O.E.'s statistical agency and it publishes a variety of statistical and analytical reports on U.S. and foreign energy trends and policy developments. E.I.A.'s *Country Analysis Briefs* provide detailed

yet succinct coverage of individual countries energy reserves and governmental policies and other regular E.I.A. publications such as *International Energy Annual* provide detailed documentation and analysis of energy issues in text, charts, and graphs.

D.O.E.'s Office of Inspector General (O.I.G.) is responsible for evaluating the performance of D.O.E. programs<sup>[9]</sup>. It issues numerous reports for Congress on these programs and many of these reports cover D.O.E.'s administration of various national security related programs and policies. Examples of these reports that are accessible on the O.I.G.'s website include *Accounting for Sealed Sources of Nuclear Material Provided to Foreign Countries* (2002) and *Personnel Security Clearances and Badge Access Controls at Department Headquarters* (2002).

## INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

U.S. intelligence agencies are also valuable sources of national security policy information. Although the preponderance of information gathered by U.S. intelligence agency technologies and personnel must remain secret for national security reasons, a significant amount of this information is publicly accessible through these agency websites or in print format at depository libraries.

The Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.) is the principal U.S. Government intelligence agency. Its website [www.odci.gov](http://www.odci.gov) provides links to publications produced by the overall C.I.A. and by C.I.A. component organizations such as the Directorate of Intelligence, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Electronic Freedom of Information Act site, and National Intelligence Council. These sites provide reports on historical, current, and projected future intelligence and national security policy issues that have influenced, are influencing, and may influence the formulation and conduct of U.S. national security policy.

Examples of specific C.I.A. publications accessible through its website and affiliated websites include *National Intelligence Estimate: The Global Infectious Disease Threat and Its Implications for the United States* (2000), *Foreign Missile Developments and the Ballistic Missile Threat Through 2015* (2001), *Heroin Movement Worldwide* (2000), the journal *Studies in Intelligence*, *At Cold War's End: U.S. Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (1999), *Viet Cong Prisoner of War Camps in Cambodia* (1969), *Impact of the War on Terror on Certain Aspects of U.S. Policy in the Middle East* (2001), and *North Korea's Engagement Perspectives, Outlook, and Implications* (2001).

Another important U.S. intelligence agency is the Defense Intelligence Agency (D.I.A.). D.I.A.'s responsibilities, according to a 1981 executive order from

President Ronald Reagan, include collecting, providing, and coordinating military intelligence for the Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff and other defense components, and coordinating D.O.D. intelligence collection requirements<sup>[10]</sup>.

Some D.I.A. publications are accessible through its website, [www.dia.mil](http://www.dia.mil), including *North Korea: The Foundations for Military Strength* (1991), *Intelligence for Multilateral Decision and Action* (1997), and *Intelligence Essentials for Everyone* (1999).

The National Security Agency (N.S.A.) is the primary U.S. cryptology agency focusing on giving U.S. policymakers and war-fighters intelligence information obtained from code breaking activities and preventing U.S. signals and information systems from being exploited by foreign adversaries<sup>[11]</sup>.

It's highly sensitive work precludes major public dissemination by N.S.A. of its data gathering on its website, [www.NSA.gov](http://www.NSA.gov). There has been improvement in the amount of current information N.S.A. releases publicly on its website such as *New Enterprise Team (NETeam) Recommendations: The Directors Work Plan for Change* (1999) and material on computer security. N.S.A.'s website provides access to significant historic material on agency intelligence activities such as reports on Project Venona during World War II covering Soviet intelligence operations in the U.S., and Korean War era publications such as *The Korean War: The Sigint Background* (2000) and *N.S.A. Korean War 1950-1953 Commemoration* (2000).

## GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS

Governmental commissions are also useful national security policy information resources. These commissions can be appointed by the President or by Congress to issue reports containing recommendations for resolving problems with various public policy issues and last for limited life spans such as a year or two before their legal authorization expires. Whether commission recommendations are followed and enacted into law or governmental policy is another matter. Membership of these commissions generally consists of experts from all branches of the federal government, state or local government officials, and recognized authorities on this subject from academia, businesses, and nonprofit organizations<sup>[12]</sup>.

There have been a number of recent governmental commission reports on national security policy reports and some of these reports are Internet accessible. An important series of national security policy reports were produced by the U.S. Commission on National Security/ 21st Century chaired by former Senators Gary Hart (D-CO) and Warren Rudman (R-NH). Known as the Hart-Rudman Commission, this commission's reports including *Seeking A National Strategy: A Concert For*

*Preserving Security and Promoting Freedom* (2000) can be found on its website [www.nssg.gov](http://www.nssg.gov).

Another recent commission report on national security policy covered the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO). This branch of the C.I.A. is responsible for gathering intelligence information through satellite photography of intelligence assets in other countries. A recently produced report containing recommendations on NRO's future *Report of the National Commission for the Review of the National Reconnaissance Office: The NRO at the Crossroads* (2000) can be found at <https://www.space.gov/commission/nro.pdf>.

Concern over the quality of U.S. military management of outer space assets and capabilities led a governmental commission to issue *Report of the Commission to Assess United States National Security Space Management and Organization* (2001). This report can be accessed at <https://www.space.gov/commission/fullreport.pdf>.

The National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA) produces cartographic and geospatial information for the military and the intelligence community. An independent commission report on its future *The Information Edge: Imagery Intelligence and Geospatial Information in an Evolving National Security Environment* (2000) can be accessed at [www.nima.mil/pa/newsroom/nimacommission.pdf](http://www.nima.mil/pa/newsroom/nimacommission.pdf).

Concern over growing national security assertiveness by China prompted Congressional establishment of a U.S-China Security Review Commission in 2000<sup>[13]</sup>. The Commission's website, [www.uscc.gov](http://www.uscc.gov), contains a variety of information resources including its *Annual Report to Congress* (2002), the text of papers contracted for by the commission, and meeting transcripts. The Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction is a final example of a recent governmental commission addressing a national security policy issue. Chaired by former Virginia Governor James Gilmore (R), this commission's activities and three annual reports to Congress are available through the website of the Rand Corporation, a noted national security policy oriented research center, at [www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel](http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel).

## CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

The U.S. Congress plays an important role in formulating national security policy. According to the U.S. Constitution, Congress is responsible for appropriating and borrowing money, declaring war, and supporting and maintaining U.S. military forces<sup>[14]</sup>. In furtherance of its constitutional mandates in these national security policy areas, individual Representatives and Senators and Congressional oversight committees will introduce bills and produce legislative and policymaking reports

on national security related issues such as military aid to foreign countries, officer promotion, weapons system procurement, and overall defense expenditures.

Congressional committees will also conduct hearings investigating the performance of various military programs. Witnesses testifying at these hearings include government officials, experts from businesses, universities, and research institutes, and even average citizens who can submit written statements and reports into hearing transcripts. These hearings produce voluminous quantities of information reflecting divergent viewpoints on national security issues which are publicly accessible through printed hearing and report transcripts, web versions of many of these publications, and, in some cases audio and video webcasts.

While there are specific Congressional committees conducting oversight of U.S. military forces and defense spending, the subject of national security policy is so interdisciplinary that additional Congressional committees have jurisdictional coverage over national security issues. This scope of Congressional national security policy coverage may increase further if legislation creating a Department of Homeland Security introduced during summer 2002 receives Congressional and Presidential approval<sup>[15]</sup>.

This selective description of Congressional committees examining national security policy begins with the House Armed Services Committee. Indiana members of this committee include Representatives Baron Hill (D) and John Hostettler (R). Recent publications produced by this committee and its subcommittees include *Missile Defense Programs and Policy* (2001), *Patterns of Global Terrorism and Threats to the United States* (2001), and *Security Against Terrorism on U.S. Military Bases* (2001). The committee's website, [www.house.gov/hasc](http://www.house.gov/hasc), provides information on Armed Services Committee activities including audio webcasts of selected hearings.

The House Government Reform Committee chaired by Rep. Dan Burton (R) from 1997-2002 examines the management of federal government programs and Indiana Rep. Mark Souder (R) also serves on this committee. The full committee and its Subcommittees on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations and Technology and Procurement Policy are prolific producers of national security policy information. Recent national security policy hearings produced by the Government Reform Committee and its subcommittees include *Is the C.I.A.'s Refusal to Cooperate With Congressional Inquiries a Threat to Effective Oversight of the Operations of the Federal Government?* (2002), *Quickening the Pace of Research in Protecting Against Anthrax and Other Biological Terrorist Agents: A Look at Toxin Interference* (2002), *National Missile Defense: Test Failures and Technology Developments* (2001),

and *Battling Bioterrorism: Why Timely Information-Sharing Between Local, State, and Federal Governments is the Key to Protecting Public Health* (2002). Resources such as these can be found on the committee's website [www.house.gov/reform](http://www.house.gov/reform) which also features information on ongoing committee activities.

The House Select Homeland Security Committee created in 2002 is also becoming a useful resource for those studying national security policies. Its website, <http://hsc.house.gov>, contains information about Congressional bill H.R. 5005 which would establish a Department of Homeland Security, the opening statements of witnesses appearing at committee hearings, and information about upcoming committee hearings. The House Select Intelligence Committee conducts oversight over federal intelligence agencies and included former Indiana Rep. Tim Roemer (D) among its members. Examples of publicly accessible publications produced by this committee and its subcommittees include *IC 21: Intelligence Community in the 21st Century* (1996), *Protecting the Homeland from Asymmetric/Unconventional Threats* (2001), and *Counterterrorism Intelligence Capabilities and Performance Prior to 9-11* (2002). Current information for this committee may be found at <http://intelligence.house.gov>, while information produced by this committee during 1997-1998 can be found at [www.access.gpo.gov/congress/house/house22.html](http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/house/house22.html).

U.S. Senate committees are also important national security policy information producers. The Senate Armed Services Committee is the most important of these committees and its responsibilities, unlike those of its House of Representatives counterpart, includes confirming Presidential nominations such as the Secretary of Defense<sup>[16]</sup>.

Examples of recent hearings conducted by this committee include *National Security Implications of Export Controls* (2000), *Department of Energy Laboratories Security Failures at Los Alamos* (2000), and *The Fiscal Year 2000 Report to Congress of the Panel to Assess the Reliability, Safety, and Security of the United States Nuclear Stockpile* (2001). Further information about committee hearings and activities may be found on their website, [www.senate.gov/~armed\\_services](http://www.senate.gov/~armed_services).

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, like its counterpart the House Government Reform Committee, is responsible for overseeing the management performance of federal agency programs. This committee's Subcommittee on International Security, Proliferation, and Federal Services conducts numerous national security related hearings which are published and available for public consumption.

Some of these hearings include *Iran's Ballistic Missiles and Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs*



(2001), *Critical Skills for National Security and the Homeland Security Federal Workforce Act* (2002), *Preparing for Reality: Protecting Against Weapons of Mass Destruction* (2002), and *Cruise Missiles and UAV (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles) Threats to the U.S.* (2002). Governmental Affairs Committee and subcommittee resources, including selected video webcasts, may be found on the committee's website, [www.senate.gov/~gov\\_affairs](http://www.senate.gov/~gov_affairs).

The Senate Select Intelligence Committee conducts oversight hearings on intelligence agency operations and is responsible for confirming Presidential nominations to key policymaking positions such as the Director of Central Intelligence who heads the C.I.A. Indiana Senators Richard Lugar (R) and Evan Bayh (D) are members of this committee. Publicly available works released by this committee include *Loss of National Security Information at the Los Alamos National Laboratory* (2001) and *Current and Projected Security Threats to the United States* (2001). Information about selected committee activities may be found at its website <http://intelligence.senate.gov> and the following U.S. Government Printing Office (G.P.O.) website, [www.access.gpo.gov/su\\_docs/congress/senate/senate23.html](http://www.access.gpo.gov/su_docs/congress/senate/senate23.html), provides access to selected committee publications from 1997-2000.

## CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT AGENCIES

In addition to committees with professionally trained staff to assist Congress in its work, there are three principal Congressional support agencies providing members of Congress with professional expertise on various public policy issues. These three organizations are the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service (CRS), and the General Accounting Office (GAO). Each of these organizations produces national security policy publications that are publicly accessible although those produced by CRS require indirect means of access to locate.

CBO advises Congress on federal budget issues and analyzes specific federal budgetary programs. Recent national security publications produced by CBO personnel include *Budgeting for Naval Forces: Structuring Tomorrow's Navy at Today's Funding Level* (2000), *Increasing the Mission Capability of the Attack Submarine Force* (2002), and *Cost Estimate: H.R. 5005 Homeland Security Act of 2002* (2002). These and related resources such as CBO correspondence with members of Congress can be found on CBO's website, [www.cbo.gov](http://www.cbo.gov).

CRS is Congress' in-house research arm producing unbiased analytical reports on public policy reports for members of Congress. Its authorizing statute directs

that CRS give primary support of to members of Congress and Congressional staff<sup>17</sup>. This has the practical effect of restricting public access to these reports even though they are financed through tax dollars. Some members of Congress would like for this to change and for CRS reports to be publicly accessible on the Internet. Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Patrick Leahy (D-VT) introduced S. Res. 21 on February 14, 2001 calling for the Senate Sergeant-at-Arms to Provide Internet access to CRS publications but no significant action on this legislation had occurred as of July 2002<sup>18</sup>.

Although CRS does not provide Internet access to its reports some members of Congress, one government agency, and selected private organizations provide access to many CRS reports including those covering aspects of national security policy. Sites where CRS reports can be found include Rep. Christopher Shays (R-CT), [www.house.gov/shays/CRS/CRSProducts.htm](http://www.house.gov/shays/CRS/CRSProducts.htm), the State Department's Foreign Press Center is at <http://fpc.state.gov/c4763.htm>, and the Federation of American Scientists website is [www.fas.org/man/crs](http://www.fas.org/man/crs).

Recent national security related C.R.S. reports accessible through these sites include *Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Programs: Issues for Congress* (2002), *Iraq: Compliance, Sanctions, and U.S. Policy* (2002), *Crusader XM2001 Self-Propelled Howitzer: Background and Issues for Congress* (2002), *National Missile Defense: Russia's Reaction* (2002), and *China's Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Current Policy Issues* (2002). Hopefully, these resources will eventually become accessible through one central website.

The G.A.O. is Congress' accounting agency and it issues several hundred reports annually evaluating the performance of governmental programs including those dealing with national security. Recent reports on national security topics issued by G.A.O. include *Nuclear Nonproliferation: Security of Russia's Nuclear Material Improving; Further Enhancements Needed* (2001), *European Security: U.S. and European Contributions to Foster Stability and Security in Europe* (2001), *Critical Infrastructure Protection: Federal Efforts Require a More Coordinated and Comprehensive Approach for Protecting Information Systems* (2002), and *Missile Defense: Knowledge-Based Decision Making Needed to Reduce Risks in Developing Airborne Laser* (2002). These and other reports, along with the testimony of G.A.O. officials before Congressional committees, can be found on G.A.O.'s website [www.gao.gov](http://www.gao.gov) and give readers additional insights into federal national security policymaking as well as enhancing their understanding of federal auditing practices.

## G.P.O. ACCESS

G.P.O. Access, [www.access.gpo.gov/su\\_docs](http://www.access.gpo.gov/su_docs), is produced by the Government Printing Office (G.P.O.) and provides one-stop access to the U.S. Government's major legal, legislative, and regulatory information resources. Those interested in national security policy can use G.P.O. Access to find the text of laws on military weapons purchase contracts in the *United States Code*, see the text of the latest defense spending law, read and track the status of Congressional bills in G.P.O. Access' Congressional bills section, read House and Senate Congressional committee reports on legislation, consult the *Code of Federal Regulations* to find how much titanium is required in an Air Force bomber, or read the *Federal Register* to learn about proposed regulations for possible transportation of chemicals from the Army's chemical weapons storage depot in Newport by logging onto G.P.O. Access.

Although not a government web site, those interested in national security policy and other governmental or political issues will benefit from using the Cable Systems Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN) website, [www.c-span.org](http://www.c-span.org). C-SPAN's website is an excellent information resource and provides webcasts of many of its programs in Real Player format.

## CONCLUSION

Hopefully, this essay will prove a good introduction to the rich variety of publicly accessible national security policy information resources provided by U.S. Government agency websites or in print publications available at many federal depository libraries. National security policy is an extremely diverse and interdisciplinary subject that defies easy categorization. It includes what most people would regard as obvious characteristics of this topic such as war, fighting, killing, death, and individual weapons systems. However, its reach covers fields as diverse as budgetary spending, materials acquisition and procurement, judicial procedure, governmental appropriations, environmental contamination and remediation, state of the art technological research. Also included are the most savage and noblest aspects of human nature, political courage and expediency, international political planning and strategy, as well as attempting to understand divergent national, regional, and religious cultural worldviews, terrorism, information warfare, arms control, and a plethora of normative, philosophical, historical, economic, political, and military issues. National security is too often a subject surrounded in mystery and, unfortunately, is often the target of paranoid and conspiratorial speculation since many aspects of it are necessarily shrouded for justifiable reasons of national security. Nevertheless, it is a subject that is good for Americans to be informed about and, hopefully, they'll seek to take advantage of the rich array of government information resources that

are available on this subject to enhance their understanding of national security and how national security policy has, is, and may be conducted by the U.S. Government during the opening years of the 21st century.

## NOTES

[1]See American Library Association, Office of Government Relations, "Less Access to Less Information," [www.ala.org/washof/lessaccess.html](http://www.ala.org/washof/lessaccess.html); and OMB Watch, "Access to Government Information Post September 11," [www.ombwatch.org/article/archive/104](http://www.ombwatch.org/article/archive/104) for ongoing coverage of post-September 11 government information access issues. Readers should note that the organizations presenting these perspectives represent advocacy organizations whose personnel have little, if any, substantive understanding or professional experience dealing with the operational, political, and ethical issues faced by governmental policymakers entrusted with protecting national security and the security of information resources needed to protect national security.

[2]See U.S. Government Printing Office, Library Programs Service, "Locate Federal Depository Libraries," [www.access.gpo.gov/su\\_docs/locators/findlibs](http://www.access.gpo.gov/su_docs/locators/findlibs); for an online directory of federal depository libraries.

[3]*United States Constitution*, Article 2 Section 2 Clause 1.

[4]Examples of the voluminous literature on Presidential executive power include Lyn Ragsdale and John J. Theis, III, "The Institutionalization of the American Presidency, 1924-92," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (4)(1996): 1280-1318; Peri Arnold, *Making the Managerial Presidency: Comprehensive Reorganization Planning, 1905-1980*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Michael A. Genovese, *The Power of the American Presidency: 1789-2000*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Forrest McDonald, *The American Presidency: An Intellectual History*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); and Sidney M. Milkis, *The American Presidency: Origins and Development, 1776-1990*, (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1990).

[5]President of the United States, "Detention, Treatment, and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism," November 13, 2001, [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011113-27.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011113-27.html):1-6

[6]Thomas E. Ricks and Vernon Loeb, "Bush Developing Military Policy of Striking First; New Doctrine Addresses Terrorism," *Washington Post*, June 10, 2002, p. A01.

[7]See [www.whitehouse.gov/deptofhomeland/bill](http://www.whitehouse.gov/deptofhomeland/bill) for the Bush Administration's initial version of this legislation.

[8]"Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.," (Washington, DC: OMB, 2001): 1; [www.whitehouse.gov/omb/organization/office.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/organization/office.html).



<sup>[9]</sup>For coverage of the valuable information that can be provided by governmental inspector general reports see Thelma Friedes, "Inspector General Reports as Instruments of Governmental Accountability," *Government Information Quarterly*, 9 (1)(1992): 53-64.

<sup>[10]</sup>Executive Office of the President, "United States Intelligence Activities," 46 *Federal Register* 235, (December 8, 1981): 59947.

<sup>[11]</sup>U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *United States Government Manual, 2001-2002*, (Washington, DC: G.P.O., 2001): 200-01.

<sup>[12]</sup>Demonstrations of work evaluating Presidential commissions can be found in Terrence R. Tutchings, *Rhetoric and Reality: Presidential Commissions and the Making of Public Policy*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979); David Flitner, *The Politics of Presidential Commissions*, (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Transnational Publications, 1986); and David F. Linowes, *Creating Public Policy: The Chairman's Memoirs of Four Presidential Commissions*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998).

<sup>[13]</sup>"An Act to Authorize Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2001 for Military Activities of the Department of Defense, for Military Construction, and for Defense Activities of the Department of Energy, to Prescribe Personnel Strengths for Such Fiscal Year for the Armed Forces, and for Other Purposes," Public Law 106-398, 114 *U.S. Statutes at Large* 1654, 1654A, 334-338.

<sup>[14]</sup>See Article 1 Section 8 Clause 1 of the *United States Constitution* for Congressional power to provide for the common defense; *United States Constitution* Article 1 Section 8 Clause 2 for Congressional borrowing authority; and *United States Constitution* Article 1 Section 8 Clauses 11-18 for Congressional war declaration authority, military funding authority, and military legal and regulatory authority.

<sup>[15]</sup>"H.R. 5005: To Establish the Department of Homeland Security, and For Other Purposes," U.S. House of Representatives, 107th Cong., 2nd Sess., June 24, 2002.

<sup>[16]</sup>*United States Constitution* Article 2 Section 2 Clause 2.

<sup>[17]</sup>*United States Code*, (2000 edition) 2 U.S.C. 166(b).

<sup>[18]</sup>"S.Res. 21: Directing the Sergeant-at-Arms to Provide Internet Access to Certain Congressional Documents, including certain Congressional Research Service publications, Senate Lobbying and Gift Report Filings, and Senate and Joint Committee Documents, 107th Cong., 1st Sess., February 14, 2001.

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